RISING OF THE AFRIC.

"Sources of Danger to the Republic."

Frederick Douglass' Great Lecture Last Night.

"Down with the One-Man

The Bemocracy that Saves Us.

No More Vice-Presidential Succession.'

The Hopes and Fears of Our Country

"Constitutional Amendment a Swindle."

Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc.,

ESPECIALLY REPORTED FOR EVENING TELEGRAPATE National Hall was literally packed last night with people to hear Mr. Douglass' address. The speaker was frequently interrupted with applause, and he evidently made the best effort of his life. The eloquence and searching political analysis of Fred. Douglas last evening took some of his warmest admirers by surprise.

Miss Greenwood, the "Black Swan," sang several arias and ballads during the evening with great acceptability.

Mr. Douglass was introduced by Mr. William Still, President of the Social, Civil, and Statistical A sociation of the Colored People of Pennsylvania, and the great freedman spoke as fol-

The great and all-commanding thought of patriotic citizens of the United States is, as to how this republic can be rendered enduring, benedicent, and permanent. I am here this evening to discuss some of its dangers and sorrows, or weaknesses. In all political institutions the subject is to some extent an unwelcome one to many, for it is common on great occasions to hear men speak of the republican institutions of our republican Government as the best Government on earth, ac admirable piece of mechanism, destined at some future period. not far distant or remote, to supersede all other forms of government.

Many men, when our eulogistic orators would appear somewhat recondite as well as patriotic, tell us of the change and the distribution of the various powers under our form of government, I am certainty not here this evening rudely to call in question the verylpleasing assumptions of governmental superiority on our part which it is natural to indulge, however unwise it may be

They are consonant with national pride, consonant with national self-love; and when they are not employed, as they too citen are, in the service of a blind, unreasoning, stubborn, and obstinate fanaticism and conservatism, they are comparatively harmless, although they may not always be consonant with good taste are heard. however, well to remind this class of American hearers and speakers that they are not alone in this species of enlogy, that there are other men reputed wise and good in other arts of the planet who appear just as confident of the excellent qualities of their peculiar government, of monarchical aristocracy or autocracy, as we are of the good qualities of our own, and not a few of these have already voted our republican experiment a fatture: they already have detected signs of decay, and have predicted that at some day, not very distant, our beautiful republican institutions will have to give place to another Government, a stronger more absolute Government than the one we have. Those who entertain these opinions are not entirely without reason for them. And Republican, every lover of his country, must wish these reasons fewer and less visible than they are. The fact is that the ballot-box, upon which we have relied as a protection from the passions of the multitude, has failed us,

A large sectional minority of the people, united and animated by sectional interest, have com-bined, and for four long years have resisted the constitutional authority of this Government, is regarded as a telling argument against the travelling assumptions of Americans in favor of the permanence and stability of our republican metitutions. But this is not the only reason which they have arrayed against us. They point us to the fact that we did not meet this trouble, this resistance to the constitutional authority of the Government, in anything like a manly, heroic, comprehensive, and wise spirit; that, in fact, we met it with apathy, tardiness, besitation, doubt, a feeling of uncertainty which no Government in Europe ever exhibited in the presence of a combination to overthrow it; and they regard that as an evidence of our decay as a nation, and of the final substitution of some

broken down under us.

other form of government for the present one. They point us, also, to the hesitation, the doubt, the apparent want of courage on the part of this Government in the matter of reconstruction, now that the Rebellion has been put down. They point us, moreover, to the fact (apparently at least) that the American Government has yet to demonstrate to the world its ability and its disposition to punish traitors on the one hand, and reward loyalty on the other hand; a Government that cannot hate cannot love; and a Government that cannot hate traitors, cannot love and respect loyal men. (Cheers.) They point us to the fact that the bristling bayonets of this Government of ours are no longer a protection for loyal men in the Rebel States; that loyal men by the score—by the hundred—have been deliberately slaughtered in the presence of the Star-Spangled Ban-ner in New Orleans; and that at this hour the murderers are still at large, unquestioned by the law, unpunished by justice, unrebuked by the public opinion of the neighborhood where

No such thing as this could exist in any other Government on earth. They point us, more-over, to the fact that there is an absence of over, to the fact that there is an absence of national honor and national gratitude in the Government, which, in its extremity, invoked the iron arm of the negro in its defense; and has deliberately, since the war, placed that same loyal class under the political heel of the former traitors (cheers)—they related the former traitors (cheers)—they point us to the low standard of political morality every-where prevalent in this country; how riotous swindlers can climb to the high places in the nation. The best pattern of a member of Congress in some districts is a fist—(laughter and applause)—the worst elements of American society come uppermost.

They point us also to the antagonisms that exist between the Executive and Legislative branches of our Government, the indecent haste with which we sacrifice permanent interest for mere temporary trials, and they regard all these as signs of a decline and fall of our great repubhean experiment; they tell us that the lives of republics have been unsatisfactory, short, stormy, and that our Government will prove no exception to the general rule.

New, why do I refer to this unfavorable judg-ment of our political institutions? Not certainly to indorse them, nor to combat them, but simply as a reason, and to weigh them very fully, and with a more impartial judgment, than we have hitherto done. I and in these things a motive for searching out the defects of our Government; to ascertain, if possible, how far the machine is responsible for the developments of character to which I have alluded; or how these developments can be traced to another cause — whether, in fact, the fault is in the machine, or in the men who run the machine. For we must all udmit that republican governments undermine and destroy manly character if they foster base ness, or cherish and seed ingratitude and mean-ness. If they destroy manly character instead of elevating manty character, let us have done with republican and instal some other form of government more tavorable to the development of manhood,

Let me state the whole of the case in this in-quiry. Now that our Government is broken up, as it were, and the work of reconstruction is taking place, I am here to-night to defend the theory of radical, complete, and comprehensive reconstruction, which shall set our Government right. We American citizens have to decide the form of our Government; and we can at least examine our Government. We are at liberty to discuss every leature of it, to examine and try and test it by every rule of law and reason and logic. There is nothing more thoroughly established in this country than the right of free maniry.

right of free inquiry.

The material with which some men would appear to weigh or discuss the importance of our institutions is decidedly splendid. We can have no superstitious reverence for our Constitution. This is the time to generate such a reverence. Place it on such a foundation that neither darkness, nor smoke, nor thunder, nor lightning, nor whirlwind, nor tempest, nor any other disturbance can shake it. And it will be

reverenced. While we respect it for what it is, we affirm of it that it was the creation of man-men like unto ourselves. In one respect, however, we can afford to say something of the fundamental structure of our Government. It was a man's contrivance, as I have alleged, designed with more or less wisdom to make society happy, promote liberty and order, and, in the language of the Constitution itself, to form a more per fect union, and establish justice, promote the general weitare, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity. It is, at least, an honest Constitution. It does not ask respect on any ground of a superstitious character, but it is a uman instrument, made to promote human

While I discard all the Fourth-of-July extravagances, I cannot but offer my humble gratitude to the fathers who framed the Constitution, that they were able to put into it as much of wisdom, truth, and goodness as they did. My early experience in life was not favorable to the development of patriotism, or reverence for our institutions, and the like, and yet I can say that this Constitution, in many of its features, is based upon the eternal rock of ages.

I think the men who framed it are entitled to the profoundest gratitude of manking, if for nothing more than tais, that, against the temptation to do otherwise, they have given to us a Constitution free from bigotry, free from sectaianism, tree from complexional distinctions. In the eye of that great instrument there are neither Jews por Greeks, barbarians or Scythians, but fellowcitizens of a common country. There is neither black nor white - we are all one, and our Constitution was so framed purposely. Whenever the galling chains of bondage burst from about the bodies of the ens aved, each and all of them immediately rise to any position in the common country for which their talents and character might at them.

But wise as this great paper is on this and many other points, it is but a human instrument, and, like all human performances, has its delects. It is the work of men struggling for their independence, with their full proportion of the prejudices and limitations of men, time, and experience; and the ever-increasing light of knowledge has revealed detects and errors in our Constitution which, in my judgment, must be removed, or prove latal to every institution

national complacency with which we contemplated the Constitution under the aspect of the war of the Rebellion, so that that check, apparently, seems likely to be about as transient in curation as it was violent in its inceptioncomplacency arising from the fact that w met the Rebellion, that we conquired the Rebe ground them to powder, scattered them to the lour winds, showed the vigor and strength of the structure of our Government, I think is all wrong. The right view of that struggle is, that instead of disclosing to us the inherent strength of our institutions, it only reveals to us their serious weakness in a more glaring light than we have ever before seen them. It should lead us to search out the sources of national weakness, and in this hour to go to work like sensible and patrio ic men-to make weak places strong, and the strong places stronger.

The suppression of the Rebellion was a grand achievement, but applauded as that was, I utterly deny that it reflected the least credit upon the structure of our Government and Constitution. And how are we to explain our suc-cess? There is only one way. It is this—that during the last two years of the Rebellion our gallant armies fought on the side of human nature, liberty and fraternity, and human hypotherical brotherhood, and in proportion as our Govern-ment, was faithful to these grand soul-inspiring ideas, so were its victories and so its reverses. (Cheers.) The Rebels fought well. They fought desperately. Invisible chains were about them, entangled by the chains of their own bondmen. and deep down in their own souls there was an agonizing voice that cried tremblingly to them. They struggled, not merely with gigantic armies and the skill of our veteran generals, but they struggled with the moral sense of the nineteenth century, and hence their failure, in my judg-

Another secret of our success was this:--We happened, for it was only a happening, to have in the Presidential chair an honest man. (Cheers.) It was our exceeding good fortune that Abraham Lincoln and not William H. Seward received the nomination in 1860. Had William H. Seward, had Miliard Fillmore, had John Tyler, or had that vilest embodiment of ingratitude and baseness, who shall be nameless now (laughter and cheers), occupied the Presi dential chair, the Government of which we are so proud to-day, might have been only a matter

of bistory.
I regard the last three mouths of Mr. Buchanan's administration as most instruc-tive, especially in regard to the sources of danger and weakness in our republican form of government. It showed how completely the hiberties of the American people are at the mercy of a bad and wicked President and his Cabinet. (A voice, "That's so.") We saw during those three months our army, navy, and munitions of war either scattered to the four winds, or placed at the disposal of wicked men who were plot at the disposal of wicked men who were plot ting the destruction of the Government, and we were compelled to sit helpless. We could neither move hand nor foot; we sat biting our thumbs to silence, unable to help ourselves during the time. We were in a mighty stream, with all our liberties at stake, a faithiess pilot on board; a mighty stream, whose current we neither could resist nor control. We were in a helpless manner swept on and on towards an awful cataract of ruin, then thundering in the distance we saw no help for the Republic until the hone-Abraham Lincoln, came to the rescue

(Cheers.) But it is sad to think that half the glory, bonor, and moral advantage to this nation of the great beneficent measures already adopted were lost—lost in the meanness of their perform-ance. Even for the aboution of slavery we have no one to thank; we have not the nation to thank for that by any means. What was done in that direction was done reluctantly. We are about as justly required to thank the American people for emancipating the slaves as Pharaob of old was entitled to the thanks of the Israelites from releasing them from bondage. (Cheers) from releasing them from bondage. (Cheers.)
For it was not until judgment, wide spreading,
far reaching, and overwhelming, overtook us—it
was not until we saw the Southern berizen

studded all around with unhtary disasters, that we consented to part with our reverence for slavery, and to arm the black man in defense of

the flag. (Cheers.) Oh that we con Oh that we could have done this from a holy, sacred choice of right for the right's sake, for the truth's sake, for man's sake! Oh that it could have been done from a high and holy motive of dis nterested benevolence! As it was, it has gone into history as simply a piece of military strategy or necessity. Justice had but little to do with it. little to do with it.

Well, I am taking a long time without com-

ing to the subject of the evening, the Sources of Danger to our Republic. I take these to be of two classes. The first may be described as interior, and the second as exterior. I shall discuss them in the order now

Mr. Fresident, let me observe, at the outset, that in this comprehensive statement I concade nothing to those who hold to the doctrine of the inherent weakness of the republic. Our sources of danger and weakness are not necessarily connected with republicanism; they are not essential to it; they are alien to our republican institutions; they are deadly poisons taken into our system by accident.

Our Government was framed under conditions favorable to a purely republican govern-ment. The result was, the Constitution was projected and completed under the shadow of monarchical institutions and slavery institutions, and it has received its coloring largely from both these sources. Nor is this to be wondered at. A man's surroundings may exert but a limited influence upon him; he may easily throw them off, but only a hero can throw off entirely the influence of early surroundings and training; and mankind can never immediately be emancipated either from slavery or monarchy; and a centure is not too slavery or monarchy; and a century is not too much to obliterate all traces of a former

The fathers of this republic, born in the presence of slavery, or under monorchical institu-tions, also naturally enough, while they conceived the great principles of the Declaration of Independence as the law of this Government, when they came to the practical work for n aking a Government, we all know that they did plant something of the aristocratic element of the Government under which they had formerly lived. This was their mistake, and it must now be corrected, or you must make up your mind to bid farewell to your republican Government. You must either have a purely republican Government or you must have a ionarchical Government, one or the other.

The ecceptic principle may work well in medi-cine, but it does not work well in matters of government. Here we must have unity of idea and object-a concord of method, as well as of principle-in order to a permanent and prosperous result. Now, so far am I from concerding anything to those who hold that republican governments are weak in themselves. I believe that a republican form of government is the strongest government on earth. (Cheers.)

I am here to night, a genuine Democrat, to advocate democracy in its purity. So far trom

advocate democracy in its purity. So far from regarding a republican Government as necessarily weak, it is the strongest and best Govern-ment known to the children of men. I am here, in fact, to advocate a genuine republic as against a false and spurious and sham republic. (Cheers.) Only make this republic a genuine republic, eliminating all loreign elements; strike out from all your form of government everything looking to autocracy; make it in fact, as it is in theory, a Government of the people, by the people, for the people and the whole people. (Cheers.)

Pull out from it everything that looks away from it is people.

from the people to the individual, or to the eligarchy; strike out everything that makes it rest upon a class; let it be a Government each for all, and all for each—the black man for the white, and the white man for the black. Drive no man from the ballot-box because of his color, and keep no woman nom it on account of her

(Applause.) Let the Government rest squarely down upon the shoulders of the people; let there be no shoulder in the land that does not bear its full proportion of the Government; let there be no intellect, no heart, no soul in the land bit is directly and practically responsible, to the full share of its capacity, for the honor, wisdom, and virtue of the Government. (Cheers.)

Let it be completely democratic, resting upon the whole people. Take from it everything that limits its power or its benevolence, or mars its beauty. Let it rest squarely down upon the whole people, and I see no reason why this Government may not stand and flourish while the world endures.

The first source of danger to which I will call your attention, and which has been spoken of great deal of late, is the one man power. ejoice to know that the nation is at last starled into the consciousness of the existence of the one man power. If Jeff, Davis taught us the folly of fostering the slave power, Andy Johnson has taught us, beyond wisdom, the absurdity of lostering in our form of Government the one-man power; and if his reign shall inspire us with a determination to revise the Constitution of the United States at this point, and to limit and circumscribe this one-man power, his accidental occupancy of the Presiential chair will not prove the unmitigated calamity we have sometimes been accustomed to regard it. (Cheers.)

Mr. Seward has been a great deal laughed at

for calling Andrew Johnson king, introducing bim to a Michigan audience as King or President, evidently regarding the one title as appro-priate as the other. I think he was not far from be truth, and the title was, to some extent at least, appropriate, for the fact is. Andrew Johnson to-day is invested with kingly powers, and exercises them to an extent which would bring to the block almost any potentate in Europe

If he has recently overstepped these powers, as some of us think he has, and at times mis-taken in the singular condition of his mind (which are quite too frequent), mistaking him-self for the United States instead of the President of the United States-(laughter)-the explanation is not to be found entirely in his abounded egotism, but in our Constitution. But, happily, by this Constitution our king cannot reign during life.

But he can reign long enough to commit any number of mischievous acts, and so defeat the most beneficent measures of our Government. t is true we have the right to choose our resident, which is a very important right, and therein is our distinctive advantage over the subjects of a fereign yoke. I admit that it is something to be able to put a man out of authority when he does not behave wel, but I have taken a more sober view of the freedom of the American people to elect their officers

recently than formerly.

When I was a slave I used to think it quite a large degree of liberty that, at the end of each year, if I did not like my master I could get another. I had the right to choose him again, or another in his place. I was quite delighted, indeed intoxica'ed, with this precious privilege of selecting another master, and during the year, if I got an extra kick or cuff, the thought would come to me, "Never mind, old fellow, I will shake you off at Christmas." (Laughter, But after awhile, as I grew older, and a tride wiser, I came to the conclusion that it was not another master that I wanted. Not a new master, or an old one, but no master at all. (Great applause.) That in fact what I wanted was to

be my own master.
From this little item of my experience in davery, I have managed to read quite an elabo rate chapter of philosophy, applicable, I think, to the American people at this time. What the American people want is not another master at any time; not a new one, or an old one. But they want the people themselves, ever, at all times, in times of peace and in time of war, to be their own masters, and control their own affairs. (Cheers.)

affairs. (Cheers.)

It is not so now. It is Massa Johnson now.
(Laughter.) It is true we are free, and while we are putting a piece of paper in the bailot-box—I will not say how the names get on the paper-that would betray too great an acquaint ance with politics—(laughter)—we are free while we are voting, but once he is elected once he strides the national animal, his feet in the stirrups, his hand upon the reins, and puts the spurs in the sides of the animal, he can rule this country as despotically as any crowned head in Europe, and you know it.

A one-man power is here. You are free before he is elected; but once he is, he is then the master of the situation. Yes, I affirm that the President of the United States can rule this Government with a contempt for the opinions and wishes of the people, at every stage of his administration, which no growned head in Europe dare manifest towards the wishes and wants of the people who are represented in the Government.

This is the state of the case, and I contend that it ought not to be so. Why, when the Prime Minister of England is outvoted in the House of Commons on any important question, he construes that vote into a vote of want of cont dence in him by the country. He says: "If no longer represent the views and wishes of the country, and for this reason I will lay the sealof my office at the foot of the throne, and require the throne to call some other men to power who can administer the Government more in harmony with the wishes of the people. but you might vote down Andrew Johnson every month, and vote down Seward every morning. (Laughter.) I tuink he would never

resign, or either of them. (Great cheering.)
They are at the head of the people. They say the people are mistaken; they don't know what they want. Over there they respect the opinions of the people; over here they treat them with the utmost contempt. I have seen men invited to resign, but I have never seen a man who has accepted the invitation. Your man Cowan was invited to resign; he thought you were mistaken. Doolittle was also invited to resign; he thought his constituents were mistaken. Once in the stirrups, they are there, as the man said to the horse at the foot of the hill.

Let us examine the questions that enter into the one-man power. The first to which I call your attention is the *immense* patronage in the bands of the President. A hundred millions of collars per annum in times of peace, and uncounted thousands of millions in times of war, are put in his hands for distribution among his political riends. What a power! What a corrupting power! Now, is there not ingenuity, is there not skill enough in the American people to after this arrangement, this corrupting arrangement; for while the President can place a man in office because of his political opinions, not for any fitness for the position, and put another out of office because of the difference of opinion, it is for us to see, and to see at once, that this is an assaul; upon integrity and freedom of opinion.

Who does not see that it is corrupting, in that it holds out a temptation to a man to agree with the President, not because of the wisdom and justice of his position, but because in that way he can get something in exchange for his sout. We don't want this power in the hands of one man to buy up men. At any rate, we can go to this extent, and I am glad Congress is locking in that direction, and that is, that the Constitu-tion of the United States now provides that the President can appoint by and with the consent of the Senate of the United States—we can go to the whole extent of demanding that the whole power required to appoint, as also to remove a man from office, shall be in Congress. (Cheers.) At present it is not so, for while it requires the President and Senate to appoint, the President alone removes, and by that means makes

of non-effect the constitutional guarantee that the Senate shall be consulted also, But I must hasten. This vast amount of money lodged anywhere outside of the Govern-ment would prove a dangerous lever of destruction to our Government in the bands of an enemy. It has already given rise to the most

di-grace/ul and disgustrug immorality in regard to the Government. Nothing so illustrates the degrading tendency of this pationage than the many proverbs already in circulation concerning it, for to Mr. Marcy is attributed the saying that "To the victor belong the spoils;" and from ex-Governor Randall, Postmaster-General, we have the blackgoard assertion that no man should eat the President's bread and butter that does not indorse the President's policy. It is an attack upon the national integrity, by breaking down

individual integrity, by placing the honors and emoluments of office as against independence

and judgment. I am for limiting this power in the hands of the President. Then I am for abolition. fashioned Abolit onist. I am for the abolition of the "two terms" principle. Wherever else I may meet with response, here I expect co-opera-tion. The "two terms" principle is, in my hunble judgment, one of the very worst ele-ments of our Constitution, in that, so soon as a man is elected to the Presidential chair, he is furnished with a motive to enter upon schemes for his re-election to that office, and he comes up to the duties of that office with a heart and a n ind divided, instead of being united in behalf of or in discharge of his duties. He is partly President, and partly chief of the Presidential party.

tion of the patronage of this Government as shall favor his re-election. It may be said, as it was said in the Conven-tien by that wise and excellent patriot, Alex-ander Hamilton, that the prospect that the President may serve two terms instead of one furnishes to a President a motive for good behavior, for the faithful performance of his duty. I admit the force of the argument. The answer to it is this-that a man who does not find an all-sufficient motive for devoting all his mind and heart and soul to the discharge of the dut es of the Presidential office in the first election, may be relied upon not to have such confidence

At once it furnishes a motive for such a distribu

in a second election.

A third element of the weakness of the oneman power to which I wish to call attention, and in favor of abolishing which I am, is the veto power. I want that old, despotic, and aristocratic power of our Government atterly bau-ished from our Constitution. It has no business m a republican form of government. It is antidemocratic, anti-republican, anti-common sense. (Sensation.) It is based on a miscrable absurdity, that one man is more to be trusted than many men.

While we talk of believing in the people, when we come to promote a Government, we vest one man with a power which only two-thirds of the people can counterbalance. It is an absurdity in itself. It is based upon the idea that one man, with his limited judgment, with his limited abilities and infirmities (and there are some of them that have many of these who get into the Presidential chair); that one man, in his Cabinet in the White House, surrounded by his cliques and clans, his satellites, his comrades, who have no voice to contradict him, that he will bring to bear upon public measures a cooler judgment and power of patriotism than will the Congress of the United States, assembled under the broad light of day, with the flaming sword of the press waving over them, and sworn before high Heaven faithfully to attend to the claims of public measures. It is to think that this one man will act more wisely and more patriotically than will these hundreds of representatives.

A more glaring contradiction to the very idea republicanism is nowhere found, except in this idea of veto power. (Cheers.) We don't need it; let it go. While I believe that two heads are better than one, I don't believe that one head is better than 'wo or three hundred. Let it go; we can get along without it. It is a remarkable fact that while the veto power is entirely consistent with monarchical institu-tions, it is entirely inconsistent with democratic

It has not been exercised in England under a monarchical and aristogratic Government. It has not been exercised there more than once in a century and a half, while here in this republic of the people, where the right of the people to rule is admitted, we can have a little veto every morning-veto on all occasions. It is a powerful lever in the hands of one man to make him self of consequence; and a bad man, full of ambition, full of pride, self-conceit, finds in it a means of constantly gratifying his love of notoriety, by flinging bimself in opposition to the Congress of the United States, and in antagonism with the Senate of the United States.

I know not why it is that one man in this country could arrogate to himself this power,

while thrones and dominions of the Old World shrink from its exercise. When in a Govern-ment where the veto is consistent, it is not used; why in a Government believed to be a Government of the people, professed to be such a Government, where it is inconsistent, should it be used so incessantly?

That the veto power has sometimes been used very beneficially I admit. That it has been the means of arresting hasty legislation I admit. That its peculiar power is sometimes frequently and wisely used, is no proof that we should approve despotic power to the power of the people I know what is said, that there must be some check upon a fanatical majority. Mr. Johnson nimself has been on a pilgrimage of late, sand-wiched between two heroes, one of the land

wiched between two heroes, one of the land and the other of the sea, wending his way from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, preaching to the people of the danger of trusting to majorities. Well, if this thing be true, then our republican institutions are at fault. This is an argument against republicanism, if it be true that majori-ties are likely to be more despotic than indi-widual. Then let make a seriodicities in the contraction of the contr viduals. Then let us have an individual covernment; let us have Andrew Johnson as Dicthat is arbitrary, that is despote in its control over us. But don't believe it; I don't believe it; I don't believe it; no man believes it. I know that republics and republican majorities can be arbitrary, have been so, but so to whom? It abitrary at all, they are so to an unrepresented class of men. They have been so towards the black man, towards the slave. They have enforced penalties, enacted laws, that had an element of the direct cruelty and injustice in them. And towards whom? Never towards represented classes allowed to the words.

sented classes, always towards the unrepresented. What, then, is the remedy?

Why it is to have our Government consistent, and have no unrepresented classes in it (great cheers); then the rights of all classes will be sure to be represented. If the Government of Great Britain can be trusted without the interposition of the voice why may not the Uniterposition of the veto, why may not the United States be entrusted with the Senate of the United

I have looked down upon both bodies while in session, and I must say, white I have no desire to bestow any unmerited culogy on the Americans, that the House and Senate is fully equal to the House of Lords and Commons of Great Britain. In all the elements that go to make up the wise and eloquent and brilliant delibera-tive assembly, we stand their peers, equal in every respect. (Cheers.) It those may be trusted, why not these?

A man told me, when in England, that beloved and honored as was Queen Victoria, if she should venture to veto a measure after it had been regularly passed by the House of Commons and House of Lords, it would come near costing her her crown; and yet in this country your President can thwart your House of Representatives, your Congress, at every turn with his veto; and we acquiesce. What a mighty handy set of people generally!

Another thing I would have done-that is, to abolish his pardoning power. Let us have the pardon, certainly, but let the President have less to do with it. I am in tayor of limiting his power at this point. The same argument resorted to against the veto is pertinent as against this partoning power. During the past year it has been a coto with which to traffic in reason, to win personal friends and co-operation and alliance, instead of loyal obedience to he laws of the land; let us have done with this

pardoning power.

I am also for aboli-hing secret diplomacy, as another Government weakness. You cannot perhaps it is not necessary you should—know how that is managed. It is a power in the hands of a bad President and a bad Cabinet— for he will be sure to have a bad Cabinet, be-cause he could not get a good one—and this nation might be conducted into the jaws of a terrible war, and be perfectly helpless. We cannot say when the nation is to be at war, and the alternative may be presented at any time. Unwilling that our country should be beaten we resort to arms under the inspiring motto of

Our country, right or wrong. In England when the Prime Minister is negotiating with foreign powers, any member of the Cabinet who stands in the House of Com-mons, and any other member, can rise in his place, and demand to know of that Cabinet Minister what is the policy of Government towards France, towards America, Russia, or towards any other power, and that minister must answer affirmatively, negatively, or evasively, and often the evasive answer is the most expressive; but here in this country, our Executive, with his Cabinet sitting away off in another house, carrying on its private corresindence, may conduct us to the verge of a terrilic war, and we are perfectly helpless.

Another thing in our system of government I am for abolishing is the Vice-Presidency of the United States. We have had bad luck with Vice-Presidents. (Laughter and cheers.) There is no sort of necessity for electing Vice-Presi dents. When we elect a President, there is no necessity for a ready made President at all, no more than it would be for a wife to have a ready-made husband. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." We don't need another. Cheers and laughter.)

How I wonder we ever came to do such things, and ever hit upon the plan of appointing one man President at the same time we appointed another who shall take his place upon the instant of his death, resignation, or removal. It was done in utter ignorance, apparently human nature. The argument against the Vice-Presidents is this. Men are men, ambition is ambition. The Presidency is a tempting bauble, like the crown of a monarch; is a constant source of temptation to the ambition of man; and what do you do when you appoint a Vice-President? Why, you appoint a man to stand directly behind the President, and immediately within striking distance of him, whose interests, whose ambition, will be instantly subserved by the death of the President, however that death

may be brought about. (Sensation.)
I believe the President of the United States will sit more securely and safely in his chair when the shadow of the Vice-President ceases to fall upon him. Let us have done with the Vice-President. Let us put men's interest and their duties in the same boat. How easy it is in a country like ours to procure an assassin at any time! There is most sure to be out of every fifty thousand people you can hire one assassin to commit an assassination anywhere,

How easy it would be for a clique and a clan to surround the Vice-President of the United States, immediately upon the election of the President, and ascertain from him how far he sympathizes with the President, and learn from him, without making him a party to their in-tentions, how he will bestow the patronage of the Government in case he comes in possession of the office of President, and then how easy it would be to procure the men who should send the President staggering to his grave!

I don't want a President to be exposed to this danger; it is a most striking and instructing fact, that of all the Vice Presidents we have had, not one of them who has succeeded a dead President ever followed in the footsteps of their predecessor. (Cheers.) No! John Tyler did not; you know about that as well as I do. Harrison was the first man elected suspected of entertaining anti-slavery proclivities. He did

not hold his office for a month and was followed by a man with a policy diametrically opposed to that of the man with whom he was elected, Gen Taylor was elected with Millard Fillmore. As soon as it was rumored that he would not favor paying Texas for her claim upon New Mexico, and that he was in favor of California coming into the Union as a free State, if she desired it, the man whom the bullets of Mexico could not kill died, to give his place to a Northern sycophant, whose name is found at the bor-tom of the Fugitive Stave bill.

Andrew Johnson and Abraham Lincoln were elected upon the same ticket, and the latter holds his seat to-day by virtue of the assassina-tion of the former. In my belief, the man who assassinated Abraham Lincoln knew Andrew beson then as we know him now. (Great and

enthusiastic applause.)

It is well enough, perhaps, that you should have somebody to fill the Presidential chair. What is this chair? Can you make an executive? If will be easy in this country of swift travelling to get together the Congress of the United States, and appoint some man to act as President until such time as he can be elected by the people. If we could have a vacant chair for six weeks, while the President was swinging for six weeks, while the President was swinging around the circle, I think we could afford to

have it vacant for six days.

But if the Prosident commits high crimes and midemeanors, we have the power in our own hands; we can impeach. I wish we could

(Laughter and cheers.) At the very mention of impeachment, Wall street turns pale. It brings the President before us in a more powerful attitude. The Commander-in-Chief of the ful attitude, Army and Navy, he then comes before us, master of fleet and army, with the purse and sword in his hand, and the necessity of getting a wo-thirds vote.

The President here outweighs a majority—almost makes a two-third vote kick the beam.
You must have two-thirds in the House and two-thirds in the Senate besides. You have got to get ahead of him some way or another. He is, as Andrew Jackson once said, a co-ordinate branch of the Government. He is sworn to support the Constitution, not as you understand its requirements, but as he understands them.

I hardly deem it possible to make an amend-ment to the Constitution, to remove from the office associas you have no power to command; then secure the solders, and hold the Com-mander-in Chief of the Army and Navy. You had better think twice before you act in this matter. It is a might; easy thing to say to the Senate, Impeach the President. What we want s not the impeachment of the President, but a limitation of the one-man power. We want him simply to be an executive officer, and not a legislative officer. (Cheers.)

I intended to call your attention for a monent to the great canger which now threatens

this Government and this country: it is in the Constitutional Amendment. I think it is but a shade different nom that submitted by Andrew Johnson bimself. It is a mean, contemptible, base, and most ungrateful betrayal by the people's loyal representatives of your only iriends at the South during the war. It leaves to each of these Rebel States the right to determine whether or not the black man shall have any political rights at all Shame on Congress if she admits a single Rebel State upon the adoption of that amendment!

You are silent now, I wish to God that you American people could hate as you love. I wish you could hate a little now, and there was some honest indignation here. (Applause. fou would sacrifice your riends to make peacwith your enemies, but I wish we could only go back to the time of trial and hardship in this war; there was a time when the black man was somebody; when Rebel armies were in the field bold and defiant, then there was room under the American flag for all its defenders. (Great cheering.)

Stand by that matchless old hero of Pennsylvania, Thad. Stevens; uphold the hands in the House of your gallant Judge Kelley (cheers); rebuke the falterers; strike down the one-man power everywhere (cleers); make your Gov-ernment lean to the people, and away from the individual or the one-man power; and in proportion as you do this, you make sure the permanence, prosperity, and glory of this great republic. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

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